1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant 605
quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to [581]
establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers.

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern 604
which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

612 474 605 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacy of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.